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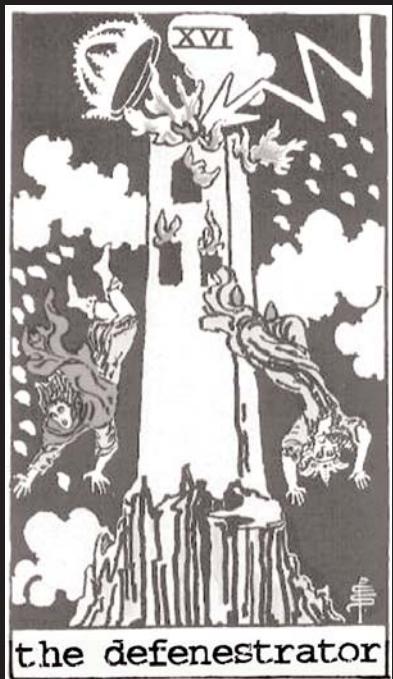
the
defenestrator

issue 31

FREE IN PHILLY

FALL/WINTER 2004

a newspaper for refusal and optimism...



The defenestrator is Philly's sporadic newspaper for resistance, creative revolution and action. To defenestrate Power means total refusal of its tools and tentacles. Like the Hussites had their oppressors thrown down from the Prague castle into the angry mob below, the defenestrator wrestles power and privilege from its highest and most protected strongholds and casts the beast out of the window and down into the angry hands of the people.

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16 FEDERAL AGENTS RAID PHILLY COLLECTIVE HOUSE

By dave onion

Of course the threat of terror was looming thick in the air. It was October 28th, on the eve of Halloween and Elections, and the people of the US were bracing for the worst ever and would understand some pre-emptive action on the part of Homeland Security. It was around 6 in the morning when 16 agents from the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) raided Sparkle House, a West Philly collective house at 5018 Hazel. After pounding on the door, 16 heavily armed pigs bearing insignias including ATF, FBI, and JTTF, pulled sleepy residents out of their rooms at gunpoint and proceeded to ransack the house. When cops started asking residents questions (including on the whereabouts of guns and bombs), one activist working with the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) advised his housemates not to answer and was quickly separated out. After tearing apart Sparkle House, the entourage left, taking with them a booty of 2 computers, dozens of disks, a number of resident's cell phones as well as a smattering of flyers, a day planner, camera, a passport, books, spray paint, a sweat shirt, and various other odds and ends.

The target of the raid according to the warrant was the much feared *Hugs for Puppies*, an animal rights group loosely associated with the anti-vivisection campaign, *Stop Huntington Animal Cruelty* (SHAC), who have spent the last years harassing higher ups and offices at Huntington Life Sciences, one of the biggest animal testing labs in the country. The search warrant used for the raid had been signed by United States Magistrate Arlander Keys of the Northern District Justice of Illinois and was served by Special Agent Jeremy Ashcroft of Illinois Joint Terrorism Task Force. Though no one was arrested during the raid last week, some of the Hugs for Puppies activists had been picked off by cops at an earlier demo in June and 7 animal rights activists associated with SHAC (the SHAC 7) were arrested across the country last May and are currently facing charges which could land them sentences of 3 years in prison and \$250,000 fines. They had violated the *Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act* of 1992, a law which liberally



includes a number of direct action tactics used by eco and animals rights activists under the terrorism umbrella and is transparent about its concern for corporations targeted by animal rights activists.

For years, the Joint Terrorism Task Force has made a name for itself around the US raiding homes of activists and harassing organizers. In Portland OR anti-authoritarians known to police for their organizing work have shared their stories with this writer of harassment, being followed, threatened, and sometimes beaten on the street. Recent news coverage of an accidental death of an undercover JTTF infiltrator in Fresno exposed some of the FBI's more recent snooping into explicitly pacifist groups, like Peace Fresno. Activists in Colorado had the pleasure of obtaining their own files back in 2002, after the JTTF had spent years compiling info on some 3200 activists and 208 organizations ranging from the American Indian Movement to anti-war groups.

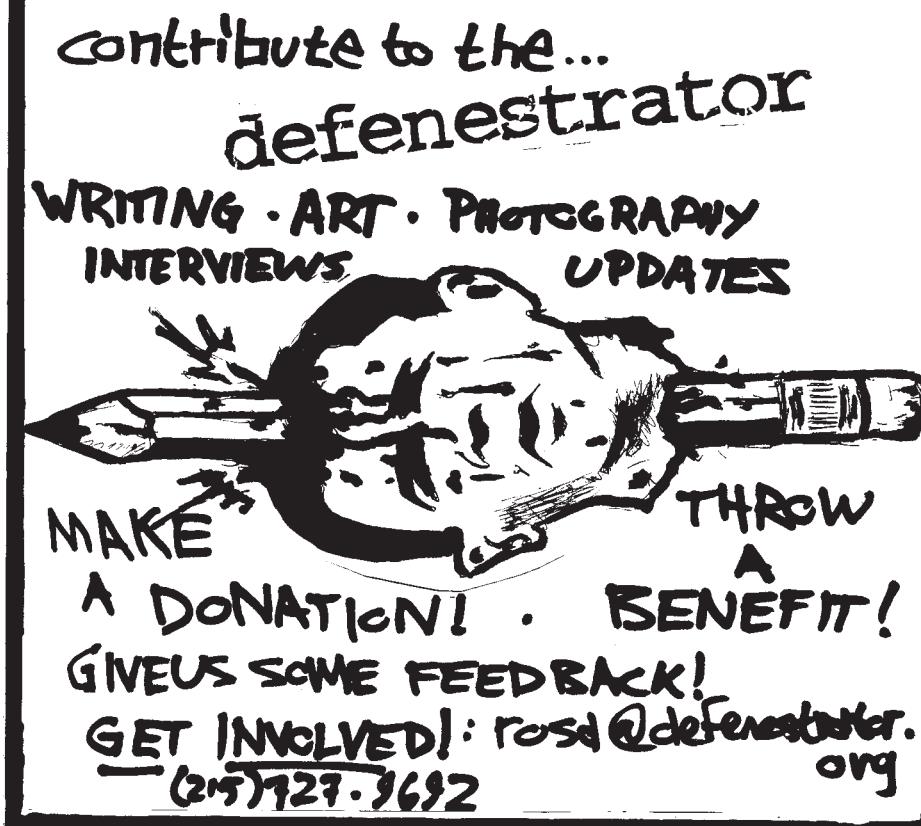
In late July of this year, JTTF agents made their rounds to activists' homes across the US to interrogate them about their plans for traveling to the RNC and DNC. JTTF cops raided a house in Denver arresting two for "failure to pay bike tickets". In Lawrence, Kansas FBI agents have, in some way, harassed at least 20 anarchists (according to indymedia.org) by visiting their workplaces, pulling them in for questioning, and visiting parents' or their own residences. Other activists were paid convention related visits in Boston, New York, Columbia and Kirksville, MO.

Essentially, the JTTF has acted as a co-ordination effort of different police agencies spearheaded by the FBI in order to keep tabs on those who they deem to be a terrorist threat. Groups designated as potential terrorists groups even include non-violent groups, like ACT-UP, and under recent Patriot Act definitions of terrorist activity, pretty much all disruptive Civil Disobedience fits comfortably under a terrorism classification. One could trace the moves that led to a new legal legitimization of this political policing to May 30, 2002 when Attorney General John Ashcroft lifted Justice Department guidelines curtailing domestic spying, enabling feds to legally resume infiltration of political groups.

The JTTF is conspicuously reminiscent of that other FBI project, COINTELPRO, which targeted the Black Panthers, AIM, and other radicals through an extensive campaign of harassment, infiltration, spreading of deliberate lies, armed attacks, and assassinations. In the late 60s and 70s, scores of activists found themselves behind bars for their work, some of whom are still inside. Though COINTELPRO did target some white activists, the program was overtly racist. It specifically attacked Black and Native American groups with a marked and deadly enthusiasm. JTTF's activities, today, as part of the "war on terror" program, which is essentially a form of S State terror, parallels COINTELPRO's racist path. Since 9/11 JTTF raids have targeted primarily Muslims and are often carried out hand in hand with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Ashcroft's new INS.

In Philly, JTTF activity has so far been of a slightly lower profile in the activist community. However, a May raid on an Imam's house and mosque in North Philly had JTTF involvement, and according to FBI's spokeswoman Jerri Williams, its purpose was: "to see if there is any terrorism connection." Heavily armed plainclothes cops raided both the mosque and Imam's house. Just to remind us of the continuity of white supremacist tradition in the FBI, the current Philly JTTF website conspicuously lists an Arabic snitch line.

Once word spread through the activist community about the West Philly raid on October 28th, some organizers braced themselves for other possible raids, and took the wise precautions of backing up their hard drives and protecting important electronic data, but so far no other houses to our knowledge have been raided. Still it's not a bad idea, with the Bush administration granted a 4-year extension of their repressive ways, with political policing and police networking gaining sophistication as well as information, for us anarchists and activists to stay on our toes about our own safety and that of our comrades.



Philly Says No to Bush & WAR

from <http://ainfos.ca/en>

A post-election protest and rally, which included an anarchist and anti-fascist contingent, broke out into a spirited 2-hour plus march around the city, blocking city streets and eventually taking over the eastbound side of the Ben Franklin Bridge leading into New Jersey. [...] With a spirit of mourning at the thought of another 4 years of neo-con rule, and a spirit of resistance against the war supported by the 2 major parties' presidential candidates, a crowd of around 300 gathered in Love Park. MC'd by poet Martin Wiley, the crowd shared the mic, offering speeches, songs, and poems of resistance against the continued Bush Regime. Following the rally, a spontaneous march erupted into the streets of Philadelphia. Winding past City Hall to Rittenhouse Square, the march grew, with pedestrians upset over the re-election of Bush as well as those against both Bush and Kerry's war in Iraq joining in.

Winding past Rittenhouse, marchers chanted "George Bush, George Bush, George Bush is on fire... we don't need no water, let the mother-fucker burn" and "No Bush, No Kerry. Revolution is necessary."

Blocking traffic marching down Market Street, over Broad and up South Street, the march drew mainly cheers and honks of support. The noisy contingent played drums, whistles, an accordian, and guitar. One marcher said how empowering the march felt, winding thru the city and expressing the grief and anger over the direction of the US.

The march continued up past the Federal Courthouse and jail and turned east. It turned towards the Benjamin Franklin Bridge, blocking the lane heading towards New Jersey. A number of marchers were troubled by the decision of the front of the march to head in a direction that could lead to unnecessary arrest.

The end of the march was trailed by police and also a tv news cameraman. Some at the back decided to turn back rather than risk arrest. However, a police officer was threatening the newscaster. He told him to put down the camera, which was not filming at the time. The cameraperson proceeded to contact his news dispatch by walkie talkie. Arguing ensued at which point the officer grabbed him, made him drop the camera, and then kicked it away. Another officer joined him in throwing the videojournalist to the ground as some of the marchers tried to diffuse the situation. The camera person, from Action News Channel 6, was thrown into a police car.

The other marchers did not see what happened and continued towards New Jersey, under threat of possible arrest.

They decided to avoid arrest and eventually marched chanting back over the bridge, some joining a Love Park candlelight vigil against the election results.

STOP PGW SHUTOFFS!

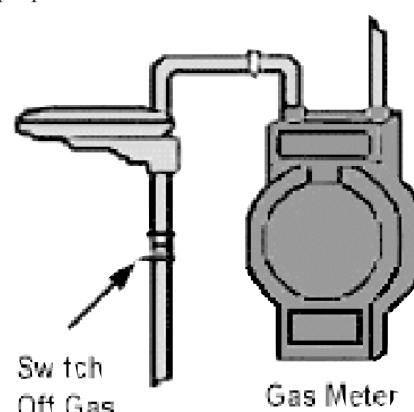


A new bill was just passed Friday 11/19 allowing Philadelphia Gas Works to shut off peoples' heat throughout the winter. Tons of families "left out in the cold" are pissed and organizing against this "cold-hearted" company. ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now) is mounting a direct-action based campaign to force PGW to do what is best for the community and not freeze out families this winter. Because of the enormous number of people to be effected by this, it is key to mobilize tons of people against the company.

If you are filthy rich, living under a rock, or in a solar powered collective, you may not have noticed Philadelphia Gas Works prices going up. The company, still "publicly owned" can, has, and will shut your heat off if you are behind in your payments. Many have had their gas shut off already and are facing a charge of between \$500-\$1000 to get it turned back on. It does not matter to this company if you have asthmatic children (as children often are in the inner city) or if you are elderly, or if you have other health issues. Pay your bill + \$500 or freeze, is the clear message they are sending to Philadelphians.

To any thinking person, the logic of charging someone who is clearly having trouble making payments a fee that is often double what they already owe is counter-intuitive. If the point is to get people to pay their gas bill, it is also counter productive. I work with the community organization ACORN and have been working with a lot of people that are irate about this. Of course, there are folks who somehow racked up a \$7,000 bill and have been shut off for months and are only thinking about what to do now that it is cold, but there are also tons of people who have had a shutoff sprung on them and their kids and don't know what to do.

PGW's decision to shut off people's gas due to non-payment is supported by people who see poor folks as lazy and agree with the idea that you can punish (and kill) unilaterally for the willful non-payment of a few. These people are also purposefully blind to the bind of working folks and the stranglehold capitalism has on the inner city - forcing people to pick which bills to pay each month.



Starbucks Workers Escalate Fight

by Jack Jackson

For the past half century, unionized jobs in America have been outsourced in favor of cheaper and more subservient labor markets. With both major party presidential candidates strongly favoring free trade at nearly any cost, some Starbucks workers in New York City are seeing the potential for unions to remedy the oppressive working conditions of a sector that can't be outsourced: retail.

The battle to unionize Starbucks became public on May 17, 2004 when employees at a New York City location announced they had joined the Industrial Workers of the World local I.U. 660- the Retail Workers Union. Even with vicious attacks from Starbucks, the IWW has still managed to chalk up impressive victories. Pressure on Starbucks' poverty wage has led the company to implement a nation-wide pay increase for its employees. The Union is certainly pleased to see more money ending up in workers' pockets, but is quick to point out that the wage increase was a pre-emptive strike by Starbucks against the IWW. The IWW has also succeeded in highlighting the prevalence of repetitive strain injuries at Starbucks. The company was forced to admit in a safety bulletin to workers and in new-hire materials that the Starbucks workplace can lend itself to these types of injuries. Since the workers at the Midtown store organized, management has capitulated to the demands to adequately staff the store, and increased scheduled labor hours by 50%.

The Starbucks Workers Union is based on a structure known as solidarity unionism. That means that any Starbucks worker anywhere can join the union at anytime, with no need for a majority in a given shop or region. The Union and its allies are busy reaching out to Starbucks workers with information about the possibility of a better life at work.



Predictably, the government is lending Starbucks a hand in trying to break the Union. At a peaceful union rally during the RNC, two Starbucks workers were arrested. Daniel Gross still faces jail time. He will go to trial November 19 on trumped up charges of resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. Legendary radical attorney Leonard Weinglass is representing Mr. Gross.

The campaign is asking people to help build a radical union presence at Starbucks in their communities. To get involved log on to www.starbucksunion.org.

Jack Jackson is a graduate of the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. He is currently doing labor activism in Brooklyn.

There is also a large number of people emerging from the prison system who can't get a job, have to pay back money they owe, and are now faced with mounting bills, not to mention single parents struggling with food bills and turning to McDonalds. Some people whose gas is shut off are finding a temporary solution in red-coil electric space heaters (they frighten the hell out of me). I was in a single mom's home up by 8th and Montgomery; she

was gesticulating passionately while describing to me how all of the utility companies are ripping her off and was paying no attention to her 4 kids and dog who were running around the freakin' heater! Her electric bill will skyrocket too, so she most likely will not pay it. Some folks from the fireman's union have talked about working together with us to fight PGW, because of solidarity and also because of the fire hazard these

heaters present.

Thursday 11/18 at seven am 20 ACORN members blocked the PGW trucks and prevented them from shutting people's gas off. We were only there for a couple hours but the

PGW suits agreed to come to the ACORN office to discuss specific people's shutoffs and bills. Clearly 20 people wasn't enough to scare PGW into reconsidering their policy - they also tried to get a bill passed on Friday which would allow them to do shutoffs all winter! (The bill didn't pass.) So we need to mobilize.

This Thursday morning was a good start, but didn't solve the problem. If there had been a thousand people out there, shouting over the occasional passerby who would holler "Get off Welfare" at us and showing some serious solidarity with the tons of folks who are working several jobs and still can't pay all their bills, we can illustrate that direct action works, and "the system" doesn't. We need to build off of this first action and prevent these massive shutoffs.

Call Sam at ACORN 215.765.0042 and let's figure out some next steps. We have action plans in the works and need your input and presence. The Million Worker March has called for a march and rally to protest rising gas prices and shutoffs as well as SEPTA cuts. For more info contact Bronwyn at coevolution@prodigy.net.



Leftwing Looters Raid Shops

by Sophie Arie, *The Guardian*

A group of 200 leftwing protesters wearing balaclavas, carnival masks and bandanas over their faces, went on a "proletariat shopping spree" in a Rome hypermarket at the weekend, carrying off goods and handing them out. They swarmed into the Panorama hypermarket on the outskirts of the Italian capital on Saturday shouting "free shopping for all". After failing to negotiate a 70% discount with the supermarket's manager, the group barged loaded trolleys past cashiers and distributed the goods to a crowd outside. Police chose not to intervene but later claimed to have identified 87 members of the group, who now face legal action.

FBI Seizes IMC Servers in UK

Oct 7, Thursday morning

US authorities issued a federal order to Rackspace commanding them to hand over Indymedia web servers to the requesting agency. Rackspace, which provides hosting services for more than 20 Indymedia sites at its London facility, complied and turned over the requested servers, effectively removing those sites from the internet. Since the subpoena was issued to Rackspace and not to Indymedia, the reasons for this action are still unknown to Indymedia. Talking to Indymedia volunteers, Rackspace stated that "they cannot provide Indymedia with any information regarding the order." ISPs (Internet Service Providers) have received gag orders in similar situations which prevent them from updating the concerned parties on what is happening. It is unclear to Indymedia how and why a server that is outside US jurisdiction can be seized by US authorities. At the same time an additional server was taken down at Rackspace which provided streaming radio for several radio stations, BLAG (linux distro), and a handful of miscellaneous things.

The last few months have seen numerous attacks on independent media by the US Federal Government. In August the Secret Service used a subpoena in an attempt to disrupt the NYC IMC before the RNC by trying to get IP logs [logs of computers accessed] from an ISP in the US and the Netherlands. Last month the FCC (Federal Communications Commission) shut down community radio stations around the US. Two weeks ago the FBI requested that Indymedia take down a post on the Nantes IMC that had a photo of some undercover Swiss police and IMC volunteers in Seattle were visited by the FBI on the same issue. For more information on freedom of communication, see the [Electronic Frontier Foundation](#)

She lays dazed in the crowded hospital room, languidly waving her bruised arm at the flies. Her shins, shattered by bullets from US soldiers when they fired through the front door of her house, are both covered by casts. Small plastic drainage backs filled with red fluid sit upon her abdomen, where she took shrapnel from another bullet.

Fatima Harouz, 12 years old, lives in Latifiya, a city just south of Baghdad. Just three days ago soldiers attacked her home. Her mother, standing with us says, "They attacked our home and there weren't even any resistance fighters in our area." Her brother was shot and killed, and his wife was wounded as their home was ransacked by soldiers. "Before they left, they killed all of our chickens," added Fatima's mother, her eyes a mixture of fear, shock and rage.

A doctor standing with us, after listening to Fatima's mother tell their story, looks at me and sternly asks, "This is the freedom...in their Disney Land are there kids just like this?" Another young woman, Rana Obeidy, was walking home with her brother two nights ago. She assumes the soldiers shot her and her brother because he was carrying a bottle of soda. This happened in Baghdad. She has a chest wound where a bullet grazed her, unlike her little brother who is dead.

Laying in a bed near Rana is Hanna, 14 years old. She has a gash on her right leg from the bullet of a US soldier. Her family was in a taxi in Baghdad this morning which was driving near a US patrol when a soldier opened fire on the car.

Her father's shirt is spotted with blood from his head which was wounded when the taxi crashed.

In another room a small boy from Fallujah lays on his stomach. Shrapnel from a grenade thrown into their home by a US soldier entered his body through his back, and implanted near his kidney.

* Dahr Jamail's Iraq Dispatches *

Slash and Burn

November 17, 2004

An operation successfully removed

the shrapnel. His father was killed by what his mother called, "the haphazard shooting of the Americans." The boy, Amin, lies in his bed vacillating between crying with pain and playing with his toy car.



American Army doctors treat the broken leg of an Iraqi prisoner of war captured in Fallujah.

It's one case after another of people from Baghdad, Fallujah, Latifiya, Balad, Ramadi, Samarra, Baquba...from all over Iraq, who have been injured by the heavy-handed tactics of American soldiers fighting a no-win guerilla war spawned from an illegal invasion based on lies. Their barbaric acts of retaliation have become the daily reality for Iraqis, who continue to take

the brunt of the frustration and rage of the soldiers.

Out in front of the hospital three Humvees pull up as soldiers alert the hospital staff that some of the wounded from outside of Fallujah will be brought there. One of the staff

begins to yell at the soldier who is doing the talking, while a soldier manning a machine gun atop a Humvee with his face completely covered by an olive balaclava and goggles looks on.

"We don't need you here! Get the fuck out of here! Bring back Saddam! Even he was better than you animals! We don't want to die by your hands, so get out of here! We can take care of our own people!" The translator with the soldiers does not translate this. Instead he watches with a face of stone.

The survivors of those killed and wounded by the US military in Iraq, as well as those who care for them, are left with feelings of bitter anguish, grief, rage and vengeance.

This afternoon at a small, but busy supply center set up in Baghdad to distribute goods to refugees from Fallujah, the stories the haggard survivors are telling are nearly unimaginable.

"They kicked all the journalists out of Fallujah so they could do whatever they want," says Kassem Mohammed Ahmed, who just escaped from Fallujah three days ago, "The first thing they did is they bombed the hospitals because that is where the wounded have to go. Now we see that wounded people are in the street and the soldiers are rolling over them with tanks. This happened so many times. What you see on the TV is nothing—that is just one camera. What you cannot see is so much." While Kassem speaks of the television footage, there are also stories of soldiers not discriminating between civilians and resistance fighters.

Another man, Abdul Razaq Ismail arrived from Fallujah last week.

While distributing supplies to other refugees he says, "There are dead bodies on the ground and nobody can bury them. The Americans are dropping some of the bodies into the Euphrates River near Fallujah. They are pulling the bodies with tanks and leaving them at the soccer stadium." Nearby is another man in tears as he listens, nodding his head. He can't stop crying, but after a little while says he wants to talk to us.

"They bombed my neighborhood and we used car jacks to raise the blocks of concrete to get dead children out from under them." Another refugee, Abu Sabah, an older man wearing a torn shirt and dusty pants tells of how he escaped with his family while soldiers shot bullets over their heads, but killed his cousin.

"They used these weird bombs that put up smoke like a mushroom cloud," he said, having just arrived yesterday, "Then small pieces fell from the air with long tails of smoke behind them. These exploded on the ground with large fires that burnt for half an hour. They used these near the train tracks. You could hear these dropped from a large airplane and the bombs were the size of a tank. When anyone touched those fires, their body burned for hours." The comparison of Iraq to Vietnam is becoming more valid by the day here.

check out www.dahrjamailiraq.com/ for an archive of Dahr's writings.

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On the Relevance of Critical Thinking to Creating Cultural Resistance to Capitalism and the State

by Bronwyn Lepore

The U.S. has this unfortunate strain or tendency towards anti-intellectualism and away from analysis and critical consciousness, and the damage is visible everywhere: fear, passivity, complicity, ignorance, cowardice, loss of political freedom and control over one's life. Cultural resistance, challenges to the dominant system, or the creation of what some in the anti-capitalist movement call dual power, requires the ongoing and active use of the brain, the heart and body, in balance. We live in desperate and despairing times and the current state of this country and the world cries out for more tangible resistance. We have a particular responsibility here as this hegemonic beast we call home has such a huge impact on how others on the planet live and die. So I begin this discussion with the above from Antonio Gramsci (the small but vocal leader of the Italian communist party in the 20's who was imprisoned for years after a fascist prosecutor demanded at his trial "We must stop this brain from working...!") as a starting point, a prodding question for the reader: is it better to ask "what does it mean to be a human being alive in a world with other human beings?" - it's a huge question that requires rigorous self-interrogation, the decentering of authority as well as a sense of collective responsibility - or should we just accept, go along with, the program set forth for us by others? Here in Philadelphia, where a palpable hatred for the Bush administration as well as a hopeful energy for change was felt in the streets in the weeks leading up to the election, a demoralized pall has set over the city with the realization that we will have no say. But maybe this should be a wake-up call that getting briefly energized over electoral politics every four years is not going to fix the mess we're in.

We live under the umbrella - or shadow - of corporate capitalism and neo-liberalism. We can try to escape into "scenes" or counter-cultures of existence, but capitalism permeates; it's inescapable; it's in the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the computer I write on. As a micro-example, let's just look at this paper - we try to write and gather articles from an anti-capitalist/anti-authoritarian perspective (and there's much internal friction/debate about what this means and how to go about it) but inevitably we still have to raise money to go to the printers, we have to get gas to drive there, we rely on the

"It is essential to destroy the widespread prejudice that philosophy is a strange and difficult thing just because it is the specific intellectual activity of a particular category of specialists or of professional and systematic philosophers...is it better to work out consciously and critically one's own conception of the world and thus, in connection with the labours of one's own brain choose one's sphere of activity, take an active part in the creation of the history of the world, be one's own guide, refusing to accept passively and supinely from outside the moulding of one's personality?"

-Antonio Gramsci, *The Prison Notebooks*

internet to get info about the world; as much as maybe we'd prefer not to be we are still inside the beast.

But that doesn't mean this is it, that there's no point resisting; humans create history, and history is change, not inevitability, and, as the Zapatistas recognized (and why so many resonated with their calls), to accept the framework of neo-liberalism is to buy into *thanatos* / the death instinct, repressing the equally powerful human tendency towards *eros* / desire - towards life. If we choose to subordinate our human powers to some false sense of peace and security (as so many apparently did in the presidential election), we are choosing death and the annihilation of others (look at how quickly Bush mandated the slaughter of more people in Iraq in a sick/twisted victory celebration just days after too many states turned blood red). We must imagine and insist upon the recovery of freedom and life itself in opposition to this international system of control where whoever has the most guns, money and ideological power wins. But where to begin (or what frameworks do we already have that we can build on) and what to do, especially here in the U.S. where consumerism, education, politics, organized religion and the mainstream media have done so well at stifling the imagination (lefty writer Alexander Cockburn calls this phenomenon "surrendering quietly") that too many of us on the left saw, over the past year, our only hope in voting for the Senator who said of the War on Iraq and its over 100, 000 dead later merely that he would have "done it differently."

Freedom cannot be recovered without the intellect, without rigorous critical thinking, and so we need to get over this tendency here in the States to denigrate the mind, to emphasize action over thought, doing over knowing and understanding. Gramsci believed "the job of the revolutionary is to discover the progressive potentialities that reside within popular consciousness and from this material fashion a culture of resistance" (Duncombe 58-9). "The

starting-point of critical elaboration," wrote Gramsci "is the consciousness of what one really is, and is 'knowing thyself' as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory." We have to distinguish between the academic and our incredibly flawed educational institutions (though even in such worlds there exist emergent moments and possibilities that are critically expansive and empowering) and the intellectual/philosophical capacities of all human beings. Too many times have I heard

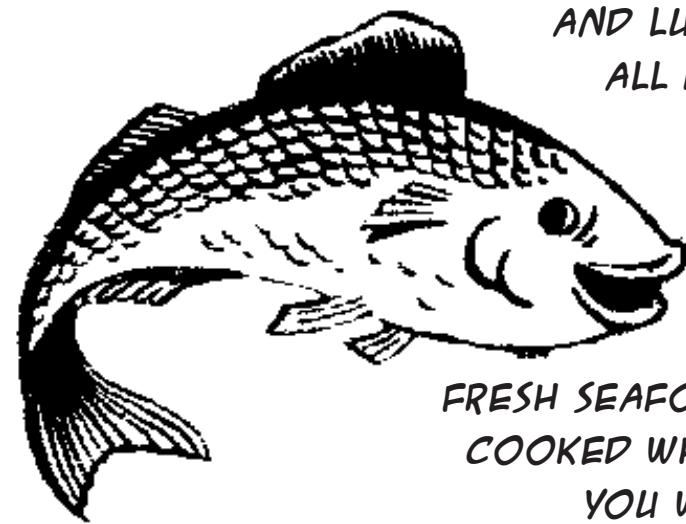
consumerist society, dumbing down our own political philosophies to make them more accessible to the "masses" as if the masses aren't capable of their own cultural critiques (almost always, and especially just in the past few weeks, the most intellectual conversations I heard or took part in about the state of the world were on subways, in the streets or the halls of work/schools or in bars).

There are some frightening parallels between the oppressive power of religion (the Catholic Church) and the rise of fascism in Italy during Gramsci's life and what we are currently experiencing in the U.S. Why else would the state have wanted to lock up and silence such a questioning and therefore dangerous mind. I attended a post-election talk by Chris Hedges (former war correspondent and author of *War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*) where he emphasized the need to recognize and confront the rise in power of the Christian Fundamentalist Right and its fascist tendencies of hatred and intolerance in the U.S. before it's too late - he has experienced and documented wars all over the world and witnessed first-hand the dangers of such ideologies. Such philosophies of power work on fear and passivity, a lack of thinking: the will of God in the hands of the State (anti-gay, anti-woman, anti-city, anti-minority, anti-science, anti-thought, anti-environment; pro-war, pro-money) our "leaders" God's emissaries, those who will protect us from the evils of "the other." Mussolini drafted a treaty in the late 1920's so that the State walked hand-in-hand

Continues on page 15...

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University City: A Real Estate Invention and Herald of Bad Times for Many Residents

By Richard Rodgers

If you were a resident of any section of Philadelphia in the 1950s and were asked where, or what University City was, your response would have been the same as if you had been asked, "Where is the planet Xenon?" University City did not exist and the area blithely labeled so was then simply referred to as West Philadelphia.

The University of Pennsylvania initiated its plans for land expansion in West Philadelphia in 1946. It submitted a proposal to city authorities which entailed great forays into real estate surrounding the University which were privately owned residences and businesses.

Displacement of the local population, mostly black households, was accepted as a self-evident fact of life by the Penn administration and the city government. National plans for urban renewal (Negro Removable), to a great extent federally funded, were delayed due to the outbreak of the Korean War as well as the fear of urban riots.

The pivotal change in the urban renewal perspective came about in 1952 - 1953 when the Eisenhower administration decided that 10% of the program funds were to be used for commercial development. Previously, all urban renewal projects were exclusively residential projects.

In 1959, the University of Chicago, on the strength of its political clout with the Democratic party, convinced the Eisenhower administration to allow new university contracts to be covered by the third of the urban renewal funds which were contributed by the



city. Penn was duly impressed. In 1958 the Philadelphia Development Corporation, a quasi-governmental organization, sprang to life (Penn has always had someone on its board of directors). It was also in 1958 that the executive officer of the firm that would later become Urban & Bye began designation of the area surrounding Penn as University City. This entrepreneurial ploy to give an air of refinement to what was considered by many outsiders as a depressed area and to inflate financial value of neighborhood real estate did not totally escape the notice of the black community.

Before Locust Street (a public thoroughfare) became Locust Walk (a property of the university) community, opposition to neighborhood displacement exploded when Penn announced the construction of a science center, which mandated the destruction of 429 homes, 333 of which were minority owned. Notwithstanding claims of innocence based on philanthropic intention the university elicited 12 million dollars from HUD and persuaded the city government to employ eminent domain to forcibly evict 429 houses from an area whose boundaries were roughly Warren Street, 33rd Street, Locust Street and 40th Street.

The Science Center, for whose sake so much misery and social havoc manifested itself, turned out not to be the unqualified economic stimulus to the city its backers asserted in the early 60s. By the 1980s, 22 of its research and science firms had relocated to the suburbs. The resounding flop which the new Port of Technology (Penn's BABY) seems to be is another story for which we have neither the time nor the space.

When Freedom is Outlawed, Only Outlaws Will Be Free!

by
Rob X

defenestrator prison correspondent

Rehabilitation: Does it Work? Does it Exist?

The concept of rehabilitation versus punishment has raged within the American Penal community since its inception. The last decade has seen the concept of punishment and retribution all but extinguish the concept of rehabilitation from prisons in the United States. Department of Corrections across the country acknowledge that within the last decade emphasis has been placed on punishing prisoners for the crimes they committed against society instead of rehabilitating them so that they can one day rejoin society. Ironically, it is not the Department of Corrections that supported the complete removal of rehabilitation programs from the prisons. Experienced prison officials concede that rehabilitation is possible within prisons. The push for punishment over rehabilitation was pushed by politicians catering to a public that was frustrated with rising crime rates and expressed crime as their number one concern. Politicians, uninterested in addressing the social problems that bred and contributed to criminal activity, decided to pursue a simple course that would create the impression that they were doing something concrete against rising crime rates. All across the country state legislatures passed harsh sentencing laws that increased the punishments for committing certain crimes. "Three Strikes and You're Out" laws were passed, crimes eligible for the death sentence were increased and "truth in sentencing" laws were passed making it mandatory that prisoners serve over 85% of their sentence. The politicians who gutted rehabilitation programs from the prison system did not concern themselves with the quality of prisoner that would be released from prison because these prisoners wouldn't be returning to the politicians' neighborhoods. These ex-prisoners would be returning to the inner city Black and Latino communities.

2003. The prison population increased from 20,000 in 1993 to over 40,000 in 2003. In order to maintain this massive expansion, the Department of Corrections had to devote a significant portion of its budget not to rehabilitation but to security concerns and maintenance of prisons. State legislatures gutted funds slated for rehabilitation to cover the hiring of new guards. Today the motto of the Department of Corrections is Care, Custody, and Control. Rehabilitation does not even factor into the D.C.C.'s operation. Prisons are so overcrowded only bare bones educational and vocational programs are available. Due to the prevailing public and political climate, emphasizing punishment over rehabilitation, it is no longer a question of does rehabilitation work; it is a question of does rehabilitation have a prominent role in American prisons. Rehabilitation has proven to be the most effective tool in preventing prisoners from returning to prison and, while not 100%, it has proven more successful than other measures. Has the death penalty prevented more murders? Texas executes more prisoners than any other state yet Houston, Texas has the 4th highest murder rate in the nation. Rehabilitation works, it is just expensive and time consuming, two factors which work against it in a society dominated by politicians who want immediate results to gloat over and a public that is accustomed to 15 minute solutions.

Another factor working against the concept of rehabilitation is recidivism. Maintaining a "revolving door" policy is profitable for the state because it sustains a massive prison industrial complex. It creates jobs. Another overlooked aspect of the prison industrial complex is it keeps hundreds of thousands of prisoners and ex-prisoners out of the job market. The mass imprisonment of people within America maintains single digit unemployment rates. The former Justice Minister of Germany put this into a great perspective. During a 2002 interview she was asked why Germany has an unemployment rate of 13% compared to America's unemployment rate of 6%. She responded by commenting that if Germany had 2 million people behind bars its unemployment rate would also be in the single digits. There was immediate outrage in Washington over Germany's Justice Minister's statements but she exposed a phenomenon that has been relatively overlooked in America. During times of economic turmoil or recession the prison industrial complex has been an instrument used to maintain relatively low unemployment rates. During times of economic uncertainty the government won't find or create a job for you but it will find or create a prison cell for you. Viewing rehabilitation within the American prison system from this perspective, it is no wonder why rehabilitation is an extinct concept. Young Black, Latino, and poor urban males, and increasingly females, are the capital that drives and sustains the prison complex. As long as prisons are for profits, humans will be expendable commodities whose only purpose within the system is to process through it like cash being deposited in the bank. Rehabilitation can work, given the chance prisoners will change themselves. Unfortunately, in today's prison system rehabilitation doesn't exist- while prisons exist only to serve the bottom line.

Robert X. Holbrook #BL-5140

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Veterans Voices

Rise in Protest



by Dahr Jamail, SAN FRANCISCO, Oct 25 (IPS)

With the news that members of a U.S. Army reserve platoon have been arrested in Iraq for "refusing a suicide mission", dissent among veterans of the U.S.-led campaign in that country continues to grow.*

The recent incident mirrors other stories of troops being sent on missions without proper equipment, and again raises the spectre of plummeting troop morale as the security situation in Iraq deteriorates and elections scheduled for January approach.

Even as late as six months after the March 2003 U.S.-led attack, as many as 51,000 U.S. soldiers and civilian administrators in Iraq had still not been properly equipped with body armour and other protective gear, according to the *Washington Post*.

Alerted to the situation, family members bought expensive flak jackets and other security gear and used international couriers to send it to the front lines.

Speaking of the low rates of readiness of his ground forces due to inadequate combat and protective equipment, the senior U.S. commander on the ground in Iraq from mid-2003 to mid-2004 said, "I cannot continue to support sustained combat operations with rates this low." Lieutenant-General Ricardo Sanchez added that army units were, "struggling just to maintain a relatively low readiness rates" for key combat systems, reported the *Washington Post*.

The mother of Amber McClenney, who serves in the platoon that in mid-October refused orders to transport fuel through an area north of Baghdad where ambushes are known to occur, told the Associated Press her daughter called and told her, "We had broken-down trucks, non-armoured vehicles and we were carrying contaminated fuel. They are holding us against our will. We are now prisoners." While a senior U.S. military official has said the unit had been ordered to carry out what is known as a maintenance stand-down and its soldiers are not under arrest, many Iraq veterans in the United States feel the incident is indicative of poor troop morale, which stems from the growing belief among soldiers that the war in Iraq is unjustified.

Army National Guard member Sergeant Kelly Dougherty served for 10 months in Iraq at Tallil Air Base, near Nasiriyah. "The people in Iraq didn't have money or jobs and their cities were destitute," said Dougherty, who worked escorting convoys and patrols.

"I wondered how these people were functioning after they'd been through so much. They hadn't even rebuilt from the first Gulf War (in 1991)." During a phone interview Dougherty said her unit did not even have translators for the first nine months of the occupation and were thus unable to communicate with Iraqis while conducting security patrols.

"I think it was definitely wrong to go into Iraq," she added. "I thought that before we went in and the intelligence is proving this now." Like other soldiers who are beginning to speak out against the Bush administration, Dougherty has strong words about how the war was waged. "People say the president didn't lie — but it's hard for me to believe that they truly thought the reasons they went in were true," she said.

"I think we were intentionally lied to in order to get the U.S. into Iraq, and the Bush administration seized this opportunity." The president, she added, was also being dishonest about the dangers that soldiers would face when he did not provide them with the necessary armour and supplies.

Another veteran of the war in Iraq is Corporal Alex Ryabov, who participated in the invasion of Iraq until May 9. "What I realise after having been there is that it (the war) is such a huge waste of life on both sides," he said in an interview.

Ryabov also commented on U.S. Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld's statement in September that the 1,000 U.S. soldiers who have died in Iraq are just some of the victims of the

"war on terrorism." "The reality is that Bush and Rumsfeld don't have family in the military, and they have never served. Each U.S. death in Iraq — each of those people has family and friends, and you can't tell them that this is a small number." Ryabov, who served as the ammunition chief for his Marine Corps unit, believes the administration should be held to account for the horrendous situation in Iraq. "They should be impeached. They should be put on trial." He also believes the administration is not doing enough to support Iraq war veterans.

"When troops come home we need to have benefits and VA (U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs) support. There are a lot of people having problems with this and no support. My friends are coming back angry and screwed up and not getting any help." According to the U.S. military, more than 7,500 soldiers have been injured in Iraq through Sep. 27. Of those, more than one-half did not return to action after 72 hours. But veterans' advocates say the Pentagon is not counting nearly 16,000 more soldiers evacuated from Iraq and Afghanistan for "non-combat causes," according to United Press International (UPI).

Another veteran who has served in the Middle East is Senior Airman Tim Goodrich. While serving two deployments at Prince Sultan Air Base for Operation Southern Watch, where he patrolled no-fly zones in southern Iraq during the build-up to the current war, "that is when it first hit me that this was the wrong idea," said Goodrich.

"I was watching troop movements for Iraq going through our base between August and October of 2002 army troop movements preparing to go to war with Iraq six months before the war," he told IPS.

Goodrich too is angry. "I feel absolutely betrayed by this administration. I was brought up believing it was the most honourable thing to do to serve in the military. Now I've learned that it is not a glorious undertaking and that our country isn't living up to the standards I believed it was — that our foreign policy has been flawed for decades." Goodrich feels so strongly about the horrendous situation in Iraq that he has joined a group called Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW). The organization, which started two and a half years ago with only nine members, has now grown to over 60, including active duty service personnel in Iraq.

In order to accommodate the growing numbers of Iraq veterans joining the group, IVAW is trying to obtain office space and find a part-time employee to assist in its mission of ending the occupation and seeing service members return to the United States.

The group will also be sending members on speaking tours until the end of November, according to its website.

Goodrich believes the situation in Iraq is the reason why the military has failed to meet its recruiting goals recently. And he applauded the platoon in Iraq for refusing to follow orders.

"I think it's about time that someone stood up and did something. They are working with sub-par equipment that is putting peoples' lives at risk," he said. "There are not enough armoured vehicles and not enough supplies for the soldiers. One hundred fifty billion dollars (has been spent) to fund these guys and the money isn't getting to where it needs to be." When asked what he would do if he were called up to serve in Iraq again, Goodrich replied, "No comment."

IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR

by dave onion

Several issues ago we ran an interview with Iraq invasion veteran Mike Hoffman (see *Defenestrator* #25). Mike, a Marine at the time, had been among the first to invade Iraq's streets and ultimately among those who stormed Saddam's palace. His experiences in Iraq included seeing his fellow soldiers killed by Iraqi snipers and racist cold-blooded retribution against random bystanders and children by other Marines. He had just read Chomsky's writing on foreign policy and the media before he had left for Iraq. Upon his return he was determined to take a principled stand against the war. About a year later, Hoffman hooked up with Tim Goodrich, another Iraq war vet and formed Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW) going public this past July during the Veterans for Peace annual convention in Boston, MA.

IVAW's work so far has been mainly getting out the word about who they are, networking with enlisted marines and other vets, and speaking extensively against the war. Hoffman himself just returned from a whirlwind speaking tour, doing some gigs with Michael Moore's, pro Kerry, Slacker Uprising Tour, as well as punkvoter.com's Rock Against Bush Tour. Despite his use of the electoral bandwagon, Hoffman is not enthusiastic about Kerry when it comes to his stance on Iraq. According to Hoffman, Kerry's call for more occupation troops is the equivalent of re-establishing the draft.

After the election circus wraps up in November, Hoffman plans to take a week or two off and then pick up the pace again. Future plans for IVAW include setting up Vietnam-era style anti-war coffee shops in

military towns, essentially free spaces where enlisted folks can go for alternatives to military propaganda, have access to resources, and to provide safe places to talk and organize with other disgruntled soldiers. During the Vietnam War such coffee houses provided invaluable places of mutual support for soldiers seeking ways out or in finding like-minded comrades who opposed the war.

With 60 members, and growing in just a couple months since it was founded, IVAW is exactly what the anti-war movement needs these days. This war is not going to be voted (or even lobbied) to a swift end of any sort, we as opponents of the war need to be actively looking for new ways of intervention, well beyond the demonstrations and educational activities of the last years. With the current records in low

troop morale (military suicide rates have increased 40% in the last year alone) in a war which not even many cheerful imperial proponents can justify, soldiers who are fighting this war as the on ground material producers of Empire and occupation should be encouraged and supported for their refusal. The recent refusal of reservists to follow suicidal orders in southern Iraq, for example no doubt strikes a tremendous chord in the hearts of many who have found themselves for whatever reason in this bleak place as the producers of Empirical nihilism.

It only makes sense that as this war exploits and abuses its own soldiers more and more apparently, that some of them will turn against the insanity they were thrust into and look towards the more life-affirming refusal. So let's encourage and support them!

For more info on IVAW, check out their website at ivaw.net or email them at ivaw@ivaw.net. Soldiers interested in joining or working with IVAW, just get in touch.





Philadelphia's Resources

For Sexual Assault

For Support and Information

Women In Transition: (215) 751-1111
Women's Law Project: (215) 928-9801

Women's Way: (215) 985-3322
Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape: (888) 772-7227

Congreso de Latinos Unidos: (215) 978-1174
Women Against Abuse, Inc.: (215) 386-7777

West-Southwest Victims Services: (215) 386-5757
Northwest Victims Services: (215) 438-4410

Northeast Victims Services: (215) 332-3888
First Call for Help: (215) 568-3750

Abused Women's Hotline: (215) 885-5020
Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force: (215) 533-8449

The Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape: 1(800) 692-7445

Websites:

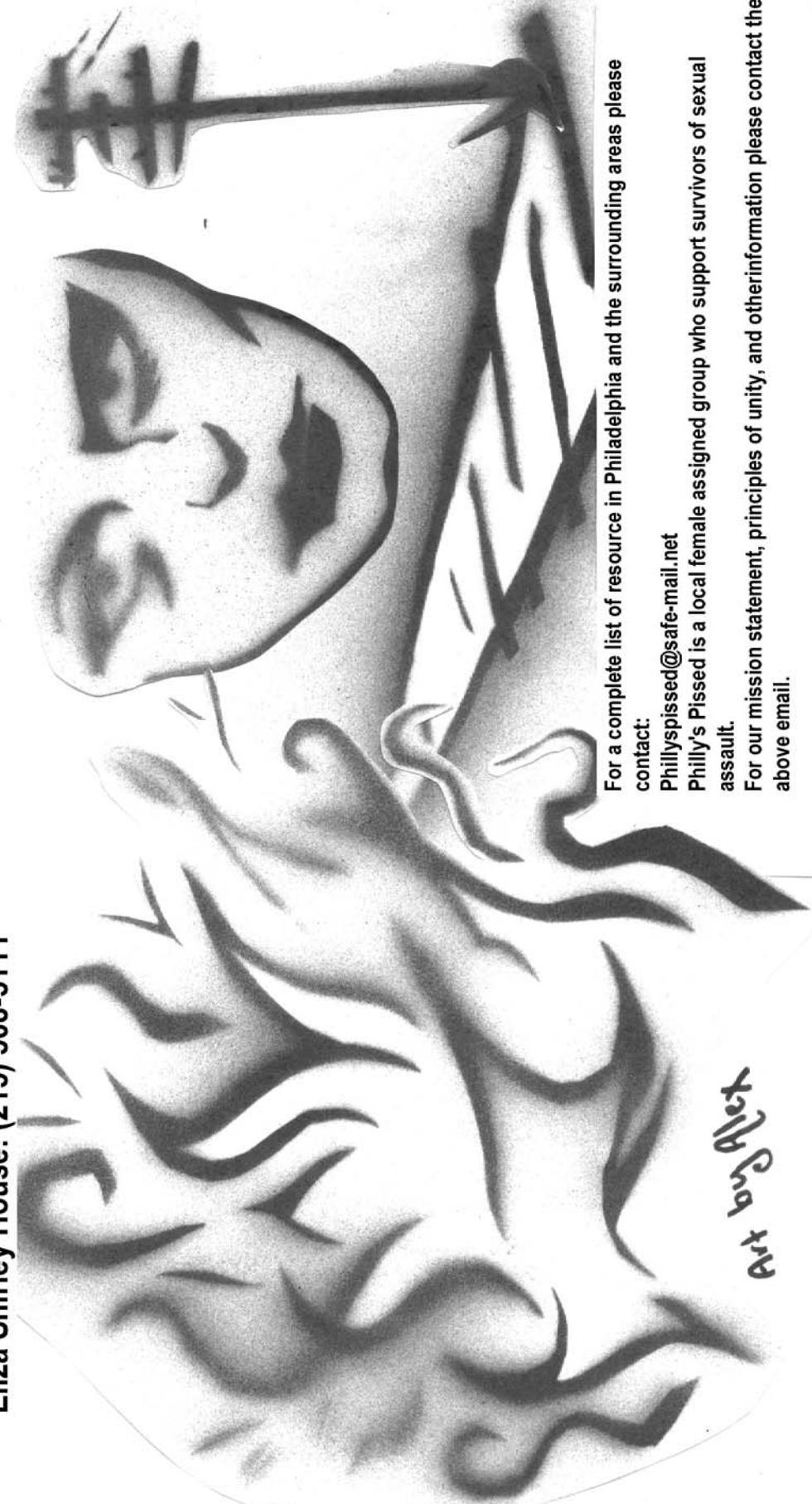
www.nsvrc.org: The National Sexual Violence Resource Center (NSVRC) website, a project of Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape, is a vital national center for information, resources and research related to all aspects of sexual violence. With a large and growing library of resources, the NSVRC responds to requests for information and provides customized, relevant, and helpful information. Contact the NSVRC toll free at 877-739-3895.

www.wherestheoutrage.org: This site features current news articles about sexual violence. Allow the stories to fuel your outrage; then turn your outrage into action to end sexual violence!

www.menagainstsexualviolence.org: In order to successfully change societal attitudes, rape can no longer be seen as solely a "woman's issue," but an issue that affects both sexes. Men Against Sexual Violence (MASV) is a campaign developed by PCAR as a way to actively engage men in working together with women to eliminate sexual violence. MASV asks men to personally pledge to never commit, condone, or remain silent about sexual violence, and to use their resources to support change. Together, men and women have the power to collectively end rape.

Emergency Shelters:
Women Against Abuse: (215) 386-7777
Eliza Shirley House: (215) 568-5111

Local Twenty-Four Hour Hotline:
Women Organized Against Rape: (215) 985-3333



For a complete list of resource in Philadelphia and the surrounding areas please contact:
Phillyspissed@safemail.net

Philly's Pissed is a local female assigned group who support survivors of sexual assault.

For our mission statement, principles of unity, and other information please contact the above email.



ELEPHANT HUNTING

THE CITY THAT LOVES YOU BACK VISITS NYC

dave onion

It was only a couple months before the Republican National Convention (RNC) when a loose group of anti-authoritarian activists from Philly started to get our shit together to give the Republicans some hell. Personally, it seemed like it just had to be done. Since last RNC, Bush's regime has rolled back countless gains fought for over the years in countless struggles, waged a devastating war on the people of Iraq and made daily gains for the ruling elite at the expense of those who struggle the most in the US. For myself and others who'd been beaten in the streets and locked up last time around when the RNC graced Philly streets on the eve of Bush's selection, apprehension was running high. Philly's RNC left a black cloud over anarchist circles that some younger, more resilient folks only now are really clearing away. Also I heard hearing stories from Philadelphians who'd returned from last November's protests against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) summit in Miami with welts from rubber bullets and batons; probably the most repressive and violent response to an anti-capitalist globalization mobilizations in the US so far. Folks were calling it the Miami Model, and many activists feared it would be the new norm for confrontational protests. The Philly Cluster, as our effort had been dubbed, decided to target our organizing on the Prison Industrial Complex or specifically the post 9/11 detentions of Arabs and Moslems by the BICE. We planned the basic framework of our own action as well as basic communication for the other days of action and headed to the "city"...

I'd gone down a week early for the Life After Capitalism conference (LAC), a visionary gathering intended as a collective brainstorm for the general anti-capitalist movement to gain radical perspective that would lead beyond electoral politicking to further flesh out our praxis as a revolutionary movement rooted in the real and practical. The conference was intended to work as horizontally as possible which reflected in the structure of the plenaries and workshops which were unusually participatory with breakout discussions. Presenting were a mix of academics and autonomous celebrities like Michael Hardt, Cindy Milstein and Naomi Klein mixed up with solid, on the ground community organizers from groups like Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Critical Resistance, DRUM, Root Cause, People's Global Action and many others, gathering collective vision for future struggles inside and beyond the confines of capi-

talist democracy. This mix of perspectives held continuity well during the RNC as we took our ideas to the street.

The next week, life was qualitatively different than I'd ever experienced in NYC. In the street, on subways, in bodegas, in parks, anti-Bush rage was thick in the air everywhere. And everyone, it seemed, wanted to talk about it. One of several spontaneous conversations with NYers I had during that week was with a foursomething African American guy from Bushwick (the neighborhood I was staying in) I'd met on the subway platform. He'd just missed his appointment with his physical therapist because of



the police occupation of Madison Square Garden and was enraged. He had lost both his knees during the first Gulf War, just after his partner had given birth to a daughter back in NY. He raged against his situation, his trouble finding work with his bad knees, trouble with health care, politicians, the war; but what almost brought me to tears talking to him was when he railed against what world he had brought his daughter into. "If I knew now how things would have turned out, I would have never brought her into this world. No way. Not with all the shit I know she'll have to go through. No way." We parted ways, and shook hands. It felt like a rare moment of spontaneous solidarity.

After a number of smaller demonstrations and actions that week came Friday night's 5000 strong Critical Mass bike ride, a sea of bikes stretching as far as the eye could see through Manhattan. I'd never seen anything

quite like it in scale or energy. My week's positive experience with NYers also seemed to be verified by the overwhelming positive response to the ride. People poured onto the streets out of bars, restaurants and shops, leaned out of apartment windows welcoming and cheering us on and cursing the war and Bush. When the ride ended up at St. Marx Church a street party ensued with thousands waving their bikes in the air and dancing. The NYPD chose that jubilant moment to give us the initial taste of violence we'd been bracing for, riding into the thick of the crowd with freshly purchased scooters, bashing and swinging at bikers and partiers until a confrontation of sorts ensued. By the end of the night



260 arrests had been made along with the confiscation of hundreds of bikes.

The next days saw dozens of smaller actions including banner drops and a spectacular naked road blockade by ACT UP demanding dropping the 3rd world debt which stole the headlines in many a tabloid. Kensington Welfare Rights Union set up their trademark homeless encampment in several spots around the city. Indymedia distributed what were obviously gazillions of free papers. The IWW took their Starbucks organizing drive to the public (with IWW organizers getting picked up by police in the process). The More Garden Coalition dug up dirt and defended community gardens in the Bronx while countless teach ins, graffiti, wheatpasting and benefit parties, concerts and pickets rippled across the city throughout the time of the convention and onwards. Numerous successful disruptions went down at elite Republican events including the RNC itself. Shall we say the City was abuzz?.

August 29

The 29th was the day of the great United For Peace And Justice (UFPJ) 500,000 strong march against the war, as well as a day of harassing and heckling Republicans in the streets. Most of the Philly Cluster headed straight to Central Park for our "Kick the Heads of State" soccer game, avoiding the sluggish throngs we knew would make for a long and dreary march. The action was meant as a reclamation of space. The park was denied to UFPJ organizers as a final rallying point for the big march. Our hope was to be part of a defiant and fierce expected battle for control of land. The people vs. NYPD and Bush. Less of a disruption than we'd planned, we

shared the park with a number of sun bathers and families picnicking. No riot in sight. Later that night our Philly Cluster reconverged on Madison Square Garden to disrupt the Lion King performance reserved exclusively for RNC delegates. Instead, following a comedy of errors on all our parts (but maybe especially mine) we didn't manage to catch up with our Republican targets until after they'd left the performance. Republicans were streaming out on the streets, conspicuous with big gaudy Elephant pins and complimentary New York Times gift bags. It was open season and felt good to give the bastards some hell to their faces. "You've got a cemetery named after you motherfuckers in Fallujah!" It was healthy radical therapy if nothing else. With openly Republican hostile pedestrians in every direction and police apparently reluctant to interfere, Republicans went running for cabs and police protection (only sometimes successfully). There was also great pleasure in seeing NYers come around the corner, to the spectacle of Republicans getting dogged ultra aggressively, abused in ways fit only

for pigs like them and see the locals break out with huge grins of pleasure on their face and occasionally join in the fun. That night despite some hundreds of arrests and huge police presence, Republican elite found themselves on clearly enemy territory. We were on a roll.

The next day, the opening day of the Convention was the Still We Rise march, an impressive coalition of dozens of NYC grassroots organizations including housing, labour, racial justice, AIDS activists, and others, to bring poverty and health-care related issues to the candidates. According to some SWR organizers, the effort had brought together dozens of groups primarily poor people and people of color, an alliance who will no doubt be working together on future struggles. The march was for the most part uneventful, except for a marked difference in attitude on the part of the cops towards the protest. By the end of the march, police unnecessarily penned in the protest block by block and came out with a much more visible presence than the day before.

ON BROADWAY FOR A WEEK OF REBEL TROUBLE

Later in the day the KWRU marched unpermitted from the UN to Madison Square Garden, where the convention was being held. This time plainclothes cops attacked the back of the march on scooters, again running over protesters and provoking what could have turned into an escalating mess. In the melee, a cop was knocked off his scooter and bashed by the protesters who he'd attacked. Jamal Holiday, a young black man staying at KWRU's tent city was picked off the streets by undercovers the next day, slapped with \$50,000 bail and is carrying the charges for the incident. Find out how to support him by contacting the People's Law Collective!

August 31st was dubbed a day of Non-violent Civil Disobedience and Direct Action. It was also the day of Bush's renomination. Our Philly crew had pulled together a protest to start the day at the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (BICE) against the hundreds of immigrants who'd been arrested and detained without charges as well as to remind the world of Palestinian activist Farouk Abdel Muhti's struggle. Farouk had died during a talk in Philadelphia just weeks before the RNC after 2 years under INS detention. While in detention, Farouk had been beaten and withheld medical treatment, things which most likely led to his demise. After a somewhat chaotic gathering, a short march left Columbus Park in Chinatown for the Federal Building which houses BICE offices. Relatives of Farouk spiritedly spoke about his struggle and what we have ahead of us in our struggles. We had planned a situation in which ideally no-one would get arrested, and for the most part police chose to behave themselves. 1 arrest was made when a protester tried to climb a tree in the park.

Most of the street actions were to happen later in the day. At 4pm a wave of actions was to start off the general chaos in the streets, culminating in a 7pm convergence of trouble on Madison Square Garden. Those who wanted to plug into actions spontaneously were to log onto a text message list (check out appliedautonomy.com) which would let us know of where and what was happening as it happens to keep cops a step behind. Unfortunately without bikes our Philly mob was sluggish and a step behind the action. But that may also have been what kept our asses out of jail. Starting with an explicit pacifist march organized by the War Resisters League (WRL), pigs started making hundreds of arrests netting in entire blocks of people, protesters and collateral pedestrians alike with rolls of plastic fence. The WRL lost some 230 on their march, but throughout the day as we responded as fast as we could to text messages only to get to each action as pigs were rolling out the orange netting. Still by all accounts, despite mass arrests, street actions were well beyond police control. Our mob made our way up towards Times Square, the site of

some action at a Republican-only event. The path was closed off, but everywhere we looked sirens were blaring, delegates looked panicked and the people had the streets. At one point, a crowd several hundred strong had taken a street, the exit from a nightclub where

Republicans were having a bash. Riot cops escorted frightened delegates one by one down a tremendous gauntlet of boos and abuse until they made their way to safety. Our night ended after several hours of fucking with Republicans by watching Arnold on giant screen in Times Square. oh fuck, of fuck, Terminator as imperial president, spectacle made flesh

Always optimistic (and radicals need to be), I should note that no-one to our knowledge was shot, severely beaten, tazed, nor tortured as we'd more or less expected. That said pigs had beaten many people and made roughly 1800 arrests throughout the RNC, 1,100 on the 31st alone, most of which were clearly groundless and preemptive. Little or no property damage, let alone violence had taken place on the part of activists. Hundreds of those arrested were moved to Pier 57, an abandoned pier on the Hudson which incidentally happened to be contaminated with " friable asbestos, potentially dangerous levels of chipped lead paint, hazardous irritants, and/or toxic chemicals" (according to an NLG press release). Upon release, hundreds of arrestees, filthy from the ground at Pier 57, complained of chemical burns on their skin and the usual denial of phone access, lawyers etc. NY's People's Law Collective and the National Lawyers Guild helped hundreds of folks streaming out of the jails over the next days to orient themselves and defend themselves legally.

So the real question would be, were we effective? Sure, Bush regained office ensuring the world another 4 years of imperial war, and the erasure of countless gains won by people's struggles over centuries with strokes of pen. I know. We all know. But for the most part, what went down during the RNC had little to do with electoral politics at all. I talked to organizers of all sorts who, while fighting Bush, were completely ready to take on Kerry as our next enemy-in-chief. Kerry propaganda did not dominate the street actions or protests and those who organized in NY represented ongoing struggles overwhelmingly. The Still We Rise Coalition brought together solid grassroots organizers and poor people of color, many working together for the first time. Groups like Critical Resistance, people most affected by the impact of prisons doing anti-prison organizing, brought visions of a world without prisons. ACT-UP made a spectacular presence, as always, fighting the AIDS crisis in the US and the global south. Anarchists of all stripes were integral to organizing as part of more or less all aspects of the protests and actions, keeping direct democracy and a horizontal understanding of power central to the process. And like other large protests, the RNC engaged hundreds of pissed off people into various aspects of organizing for their first time. It also gave hundreds the experience of on the street solidarity in the face of jail and police, invaluable to what we'll be living through in the coming years.



Three Women Raped at 'Pointless Fest'

We came to Philly's Pointless Fest (a large annual nation wide punk-rock festival here in Philadelphia) this August to catch-up with old friends, and share in the ideas/energy that stem from large gatherings of alternative communities. It is sometimes easy to forget how much further we have to go to become loving communities. It is overwhelming to face the fear that we may never be strong enough to transform our communities into a sustainable, safe place where we are all comfortable and free from the shadows of the capitalist, racist, anti-queer, anti-woman, anti-trans, anti-life/love/fun culture at large.

At Pointless Fest, our illusions of support and safety in this environment collapsed when Jacob Michael Wiese (Jake) raped two women and Timothy W. (Tim) raped another woman.

The following is an account from the women's group involved in the aftermath of these rapes. We have written the following article in an attempt to support the survivors, squelch rumors, and to add to the dialogue of the various responses to rape.

Three Women Raped, Two Rapists

All three women wish to have their identities remain anonymous. We have created fictitious names for each of these ladies to cut down on confusion. Please respect their wishes and refer to these women by these made-up names from here forward:

On Friday (August 13), after a day of great music followed by drinking in the park with more music, two women went back to Jake and Tim's hotel room to hang out with their new friends. The immediate trust assumed to be found in our community was violated when both women were raped.

Janice was raped by Jake on Friday night (Aug 13.)

Xena was raped by Tim on Friday night (Aug 13.)

On Saturday (August 14), as hundreds of us gathered laughing, drinking, and rocking out at the height of Pointless Fest celebrations, a woman was raped by Jake.

Rowanda was raped by Jake on Saturday night (Aug 14.)

A Rape at the Show

A small group of men and women from the Philadelphia community became aware of the Saturday night (August 14) rape shortly after it occurred. Due to the chaotic environment and strong emotions, we decided to take time to process the situation. We knew that Jake planned to be at the fest the next day, so we planned an early morning meeting to figure out the best response.

Although, looking back on it, we are glad that we did not jump to a rash decision, the fear that Jake might assault another woman that very night kept us all from sleep.

Meeting Preparation

On Saturday night and into the next day we gathered as much information as possible about Jake. We had two reliable sources that could identify him with certainty. We learned that he was from Minneapolis and had intended to return home directly after the fest.

By the time of the meeting (Sunday morning August 15th), a second woman came forward as having also been raped by Jake. Janice was raped by Jake on Friday night at a hotel in New Jersey. One survivor had a digital photo of Jake from before the assaults. This allowed for further confirmation that the same man had assaulted both Janice and Rowanda.

The Planning Meeting

At the meeting on Sunday morning (Aug 15) we discussed how to best support the survivors. We further deliberated on how to respond to the immediate threat of Jake's presence at the fest. We wanted to let him know that the act of rape against two of our sisters would not be taken lightly and would be handled as the heinous atrocity that it is.

We reacted with a sense of urgency, with an understanding that Jake might leave town without any interaction and most likely perpetuate these behaviors. A productive dialogue with him expressing our disgust, anger, and disappointment was not possible. We could not ensure that he got counseling or took the appropriate rehabilitative steps

with such limited time. We knew that kicking his ass and/or banning him from Philly would only push him away to other locations to commit the same act. However, we viewed him as a threat to our community and to others. We felt a responsibility to show him an immediate response to his actions as a first step in the rehabilitative process. We decided that the only avenue open to us was a direct, physical confrontation with Jake. We also decided that the confrontation would be acted out by women only. We wanted to physically confront him and take his ID to identify him to those in his hometown for follow-up treatment. We intended to contact kids in Minneapolis to set-up a long-term plan to hold Jake responsible for his actions through a process of healing and growth so that he would hopefully never violate anyone ever again.

Rowanda had decided to press charges against

Jake. We assumed that the police would be called after the community had dealt with him. At that time, Janice was undecided if she wanted to press charges with the police.

Following the meeting an additional survivor, Xena, came forward. Jake's travel companion, Tim, had raped her Friday night in the hotel room. As this information was learned after the meeting and without an adequate discussion with Xena, we were unable to come up with a course of action for Tim until later that day.

bodies in a position of empowerment and strength in an interaction with a man who has stripped strength and empowerment from women.

Unfortunately, as soon as Jake arrived and we gathered together, we were informed that someone had already called the police. We assume that they were acting out of their desire to fulfill the survivor's wish to have him arrested and out of their concern for the legal repercussions that we might face. None of the women present wanted the police called for our own safety.

Ideally, the police would have been called after we had served the street justice intended.

One of us spoke with Jake alone for a few moments before he was surrounded. He was asked if he knew why he was being confronted. He said that he knew. He was asked if he was aware that he had raped two women at the Fest. He said he did not rape anyone and that he had an explanation. He was given a chance to say what he liked but simply, repeatedly denied any wrongdoing.

We had to drag him by the neck and arms to the alley way, as he tried to shake us off of him. We told him that we knew he had raped two women. So many of us have wished to confront our assailters in a group of strong women but have not had the opportunity due to lack of support.

Once we wrestled him to the planned location of the confrontation, we each only got a few hits in before he begged us to let him talk again. There was nothing he could say to deny two of the most cut and dry rape situations possible. Against our better judgment we let him talk, but he had nothing to say. There can be no reasonable explanation for what he had done and we should not have wasted the time. He screamed for onlookers to interfere with the confrontation. We started to strike again. Unfortunately, the pigs showed up and arrested him before we were through.

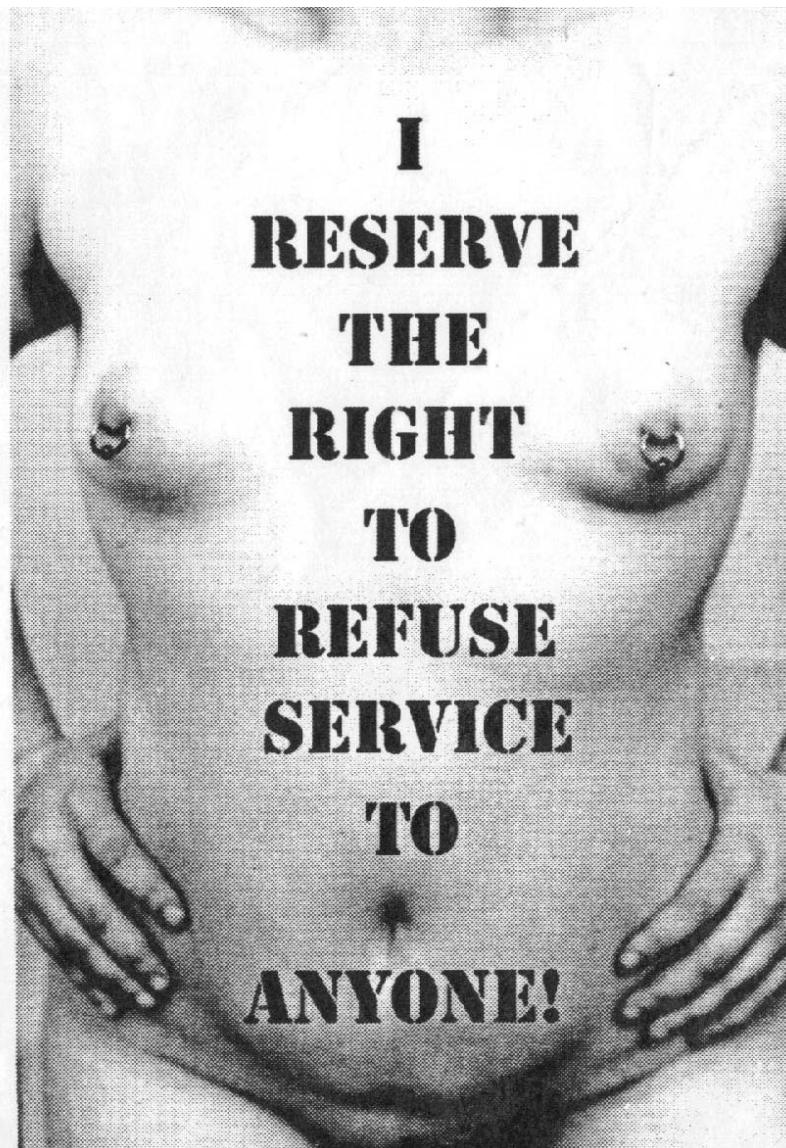
The Confrontation at the Fest

The confrontation took place on Sunday at the Pointless Fest. We gathered together as a group of women to show Jake a part of the anger we felt towards his actions and to hold him accountable for the pain that he caused. We were ready to kick the shit out of him. Although we will not deny the emotion of this act, do not doubt that our every move was calculated and planned thoroughly.

We had full support from the organizers of Pointless Fest and we were working in collaboration with the fest bouncers to secure a spot away from the fest to physically and verbally confront Jake. Our male allies helped us by keeping away men who wanted to spontaneously join in and to help keep the crowd informed of the nature of the situation. We felt it important for Jake to see female faces, voices, and

Jake waited in the police car while the cops took names and short statements from witnesses involved with Rowanda's case. During this time, Janice arrived on the scene and decided to provide a statement to the police. At the same time, two of Jake's friends came over to talk with some of us. One of them was Tim, the rapist of Xena from Friday night. Only some of us knew that he was the man responsible for the rape as we had only received this information a couple of hours prior. He did not know that any of us were aware of his actions. We talked to him for about fifteen minutes as he defended Jake's, and as it became clear, his own actions. He told us that Jake could not possibly have raped two women. He said that Jake was drunk both nights and that he was sure it was just regrettable sex.

A few of us were taken to the police



station to make a full report of the information we were witness to surrounding Rowanda's case. By this time all three survivors had undergone rape kits at Temple University Hospital.

Jake was taken into custody and charged with rape. He was held at Philly's main male facility, CFCF, under a one million-dollar bail.

While some of us were at the police station, others remained at the show for a follow-up with Tim and the fest attendants. We went to a room provided for us by the Pointless Fest organizers to discuss the Tim situation. We learned that Xena did not want him physically hurt or arrested. She wanted us to talk to him to in an attempt to make him realize the horrific experience he put her through. In that room we also wrote a speech, divided up between five women, to read during the band Signal Lost's set to explain what was going on and to squelch the rumors that were running like wildfire. We wanted to let people know that this was not a "witch hunt" based on hearsay and speculation. We were well informed as to the details and severity of the situation from the survivors and we made a collective decision to act accordingly. We, in the women's group, stand by the decision to confront and physically harm Jake at that time. In fact, we wish we did more.

For the most part, the crowd at Pointless Fest was attentive and supportive when we informed them of the recent events. After we made the speech we went to talk to Tim, who was visibly shaken. We brought him a short distance from the Fest with the support of a Pointless fest bouncer under the open agreement that we were not to touch him. This was out of respect of Xena's wishes. We told him that he had raped someone, we knew it, and that he needed to take responsibility for his actions and get help. We told him that the only reason we were not going to harm him was because Xena did not wish it. When we finished detailing the pain he had caused her, he pronounced a selfish

desire to protect his social life. He agreed and understood that something bad happened, but denied rape. He asked us repeatedly if he could come back to Pointless Fest next year and wanted to know if he would be allowed back in Philly. At no time did he show any concern for Xena. At no time did he acknowledge the gravity of the situation aside from his own needs. We told Tim that we and a group of kids in Minneapolis interested in doing follow-up with him would contact him soon. We told him to leave the Fest immediately.

Survivor's Demands:

The names of the survivors will not be disclosed. For personal reasons, Rowanda does not wish to be contacted on this matter any further. All questions, offers of support, or similar communication for Janice or Xena will go through us to them. Our contact is listed at the bottom of this article and we will respond to mature and honest correspondence. Any identifying information of the survivors disclosed by Jake, Tim, or anyone else will not be tolerated.

Rowanda would like Jake to be dealt with by the criminal justice system. Janice has not decided if she can go through the further trauma involved with pressing charges against Jake. Demands of Tim are that he rehabilitates himself through the support of radical communities, own up to what he did, and not contact Xena or her friends and family. This is being achieved through the wonderful support of a Minneapolis collective.

Follow-Up

Many meetings have been and will be held among Philly's women's group and a newly formed men's group to provide support for the survivors and hold the assailters responsible. A collective from Minneapolis approached our group immediately so they could start the same process in Minneapolis. They have organized themselves in conjunction with us to fulfill the survivors' demands. The Minneapolis group will

be releasing a statement on their actions and progress.

We have met with all three survivors and we are incredibly inspired by their strength in dealing with these abhorrent circumstances.

There are currently two gender-based groups working together in Philly to support Janice and Xena. Rowanda would like to handle this situation on her own and has declined further support from our group. We recognize that reactions to this situation vary, are honoring her request, and wish her well. We hope to make further steps to support survivors and rehabilitate assailters as a permanent alternative to the prison industrial complex.

Update On Jake

Jake was arraigned Tuesday August 24th. At the arraignment, Jake's bail was lowered because he was no longer considered a flight risk. His parents hired a lawyer and came to Philly for his arraignment. The judge was convinced that his family was supportive and would return again for his preliminary trial. He was discharged from CFCF on Wednesday, August 25th. His first court date is in mid October.

Update on Tim

Tim agreed to meet with a five-person committee, set up by the Minneapolis collective to help him get counseling and provide him with mentors. A couple of days before the meeting his mother got involved in the planning and suggested that she attend the meeting. When Tim was late for the meeting the collective called him and he said he was not coming to the meeting and that he did not want to receive any more calls on the subject. Due to mitigating circumstances, we are not yet prepared to release Tim W's full name.

Motivation

Creating systems of support and rehabilitation are tantamount to our goals as radicals. All of the work we do in our communities and lives will

create sustainable alternatives are inter-related. Each activity created towards social change, whether it is Do It Yourself (D.I.Y) record labels and show spaces, urban gardening, direct action, or free food service, is important and deserves attention and support from everyone in our radical culture. We cannot express thoroughly, poignantly enough our disappointment in the lack of real attention given to gender, sexual assault, and sexual orientation issues. To truly have a radical community that exists as a safe space for all, we need to get ourselves together on sexual assault issues.

Since our small core group of Philly's Pissed women have been dealing with the repercussions of Jake's and Tim's actions in our community, some of us have felt alienated and devalued, at least part of the time. Some of us have felt frustration with the lack of

urgency in our scene to respond to the survivors' needs and support the assailters' rehabilitation. We understand that it is confusing to know what to do, what to say, how to help; but discussing that in and of itself, just communicating confusion and being lost, are crucial steps.

Some of us have also felt a lack of support for ourselves, and what we are going through. We have felt that many people in our community do not realize that trying to work, process, support, and help the women and men involved in this terrible situation also brings up in many of us our own experiences with assault. Nothing about this has been easy for anyone involved - it has required and is still requiring long days and nights that are shouldered by an unfortunately small group of both women and men, and whole lifetimes of work for the survivors and assailters. It has become painfully clear that the very language and open doors of communication to deal with these situations do not exist, even in communities that pride themselves on awareness and understanding.

Like all of the baggage of the capitalist, hierarchical, oppressive system that we carry, we will heal and resolve these issues of patriarchy. We will relish the support of each other, no matter how small it is to begin with, and use each other's strength to build the world we need. Watching the men in Philly organize with these expressed goals of supporting the survivors, working with the assailters, and supporting Philly's women has been appreciated and inspiring.

Rape hurts us in way that cannot be measured with words. The enormous battle we as rape survivors have to win to be able to simply kiss who we want to kiss, to sleep with who we want to sleep with, in healthy, positive ways, is frighteningly pervasive in our lives. The ways we react to sexual assault, as a community, needs to grow with the women and men who survive rape. We need to be able to trust that people around us will support our process of healing. We need to trust that we will not be gossiped about in a trite, pathetic fashion if we come forward. We need to be able to trust our communities will not put us on the witness stand, devaluing us as members of this community. We need to trust that sexual assault and rape of men and transgendered persons will be taken as seriously and with as much support as that of women. We need to stand together to not only say FUCK NO to rape, but FUCK YES to dealing with everything necessary to build a world where people do not rape. We must say FUCK YES to a world where we can handle the aggression, mental illness, instability, and processes of socialization in rapists as communities to support their rehabilitation and change. We demand a world where we can overcome even the deepest ingrained aspects of our capitalist world and grow into healthy individuals within a caring community.

OUR CONTACT INFO: phillyspissed@safemail.net

PHILLY'S MEN GROUP CONTACT: philly-men@riseup.net

OUR PHONE NUMBER WILL BE SUPPLIED UPON REQUEST.



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by Rafi Rom

Since 1967, Israel has occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip, two small, disconnected strips of land that make up about 22% of what was once Palestine (see map). Israel occupied the Palestinian territories at the end of the Yom Kippur war, a massive victory for Israeli forces in which armies from six Arab countries (not Palestine) were squarely defeated. Over the years Israel has built military and civilian infrastructure on Palestinian territory, under the pretext that such a presence on the land is what is safest for Israel. However it has become clear over the years that Israel has no intention of allowing a Palestinian sovereign state to exist in the territories, and that the goal of the "settler movement" has been to make the land internationally recognized as Palestinian territory inseparable from Israel proper.

In October 2003, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, a right wing hawk who has been a principal architect of nearly every major human rights travesty committed by the Israelis against the Palestinians, announced his intention to withdraw troops and civilians from the Gaza Strip, the smaller of the two occupied lands, and much less historically significant to the Jewish people. The proposal, called "Hitnatku" — cutting ourselves off — in Hebrew, has been dubbed "The Disengagement Plan" in English media. Some members of the Israeli left, as well as others in the International Community yearning for a peaceful solution to the conflict, were taken aback. Has Sharon, who in 1982 (after he orchestrated the invasion of Lebanon which ended in a massacre of 20,000 Lebanese) said in an interview "We shall start another war, kill and destroy more and more, until they [ie the Arabs] will have had enough," finally realized that endless war does not serve the interest of the Israeli people?

Not at all. If you read the "disengagement plan" closely and conceptualize it inside of the history of the conflict as well as the "facts on the ground," it is clear that it is just the newest step in the Israeli government's plan to control the West Bank and Gaza. Ariel Sharon's "disengagement plan" is a fantastic example of how banality and technical language can make even the most horrific actions seem progressive. The plan stems from the conclusion of influential political and military officials that removing a military and civilian presence in Gaza will make control of the Palestinian population more efficient. This is not a step in the right direction.

In an interview with Haaretz, one of Israel's major newspapers, Dov Weinglass, a senior policy advisor to Ariel Sharon, said, the purpose of the disengagement plan is to end the peace process. "When you freeze that process, you prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state and you prevent a discussion on the refugees, the borders and Jerusalem...Effectively, this whole package called the Palestinian state . . . has been removed indefinitely from our agenda. The disengagement is actually formaldehyde. It supplies the amount of formaldehyde that is necessary so there will not be a political process with the Palestinians."

Although Sharon was quick to distance himself from these words, it is important to keep in mind that Weinglass is a long-time friend and conspirator of Sharon's, possessing the same thinking process Sharon does.

So much talking has been done about this, that many believe that the withdrawal has already begun. It has not. In fact, settlements are still being built, homes are still being demolished, and raids deep inside Gaza territory are still being carried out on a daily basis.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH ISRAEL'S DISENGAGEMENT PLAN?

The 1800 word plan outlines a four stage, year long process that will remove any Israeli presence inside of the West Bank.

I am not brushing aside the historical significance of Israel finally acknowledging that the settlements in Gaza are simply not sustainable. However, what Israel proposes to put in its place, is equally unsustainable for any long-term peace in the region.

Why the disengagement plan?

In order to fully understand what is going on with Gaza, it is necessary to put it into historical perspective. Ariel Sharon has probably been the most influential Israeli official, both politically and militarily, in expanding Israel's control over the occupied territories. At every crucial juncture in the occupation, Sharon has been there. In fact, from his position in the military in the late 1960s and 70s he moved the first military bases into the West Bank, as a pretext for building Israeli infrastructure over Palestinian land. Sharon has always made it clear that the West Bank — what he, and many others call by the biblical name "Judea and Samaria" — will eventually become part of Israel.

Other territories that Israel has occupied over the years, from the Golan Heights, Southern Lebanon, or the Sinai Peninsula, have always been peripheral.

Sharon's plan with the Gaza Strip is not the first time he has proposed such a thing. In fact, he was one of the first major Israeli figures to pressure the Israeli government in withdrawing from the Sinai Peninsula, which extends from Israel's Southern border all the way to

LEBANON

Jenin
West Bank
Tel Aviv
Jerusalem

Gaza Strip

ISRAEL

JORDAN

EGYPT (Sinai)

the Suez Canal. This was after he lead the military front into the Sinai Peninsula, which led to the land being occupied in the first place.

At the time, Sharon made his reasoning clear. Israel could not maintain an aggressive relationship with Egypt and continue controlling the West Bank and Gaza. Israel's only option was to exchange "land for peace." To Sharon, giving up the Sinai Peninsula was necessary to fulfill his vision of seeing the other occupied territories fully incorporated into Israel proper. During these peace talks, Sharon even said to then President Jimmy Carter that one day there would be one million Jews in the West Bank. All of this is outlined in "Righteous Victims," a book by Benny Morris, an Israeli historian famous for his deadpan explanation of Israel's misdeeds and his support for them.

Now, Sharon has come to the same conclusion. Gaza has little to offer Israel, resource and land wise, unlike the West Bank. If anything, it is a major demographic nightmare, since Gaza, one of the most densely populated strips of land in the world, is a major factor in lessening the gap between the Jewish and Palestinian population in the "greater" Israel.

By withdrawing from the Gaza Strip, Israel buys itself some more time before it has to face the demographic reality that there are more Palestinians than Jews in the region.

That said, it is a mistake to even think of the "disengagement plan" as a withdrawal. As Webster's Dictionary makes it clear, disengage means "to release from something that engages; to release or detach oneself." What Israel is trying to do is detach itself from any ethical or legal obligations it has to the nation it occupies, without ending its control over the land. Israel plans on maintaining the occupation from the outside, or as one Israeli commentator put it, by "remote control."

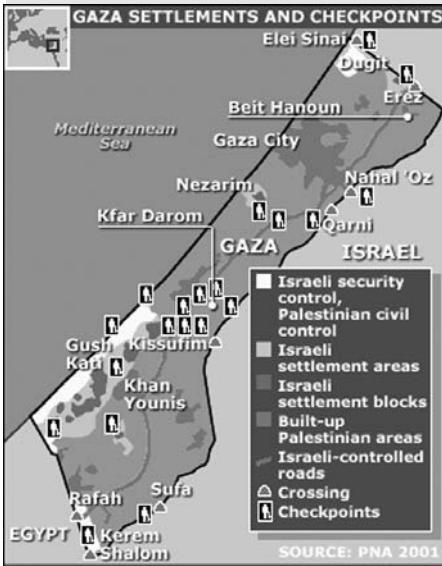
Since Gaza is such a small territory, Israel will be able to effectively control it from the outside, making it the largest prison in the world. As Israel's disengagement plan makes clear, when it comes to military, economic, political, or environmental issues, the status quo will remain the same. It should be noted that the status quo is absolutely horrible. For instance, there is a massive water shortage in Gaza, with water available only a few hours every day. It is bitterly comical that the plan even says that control of the sewage structure will be given over to the Palestinians, since Gaza has some of the most severe sanitary problems in the world.

There is no basis to believe that Gaza will become any sort of independent territory. Israel will still control the seaports and the air space, and will reserve the right to invade Gaza "at will." Moreover, it plans on keeping the buffer zone in place between Gaza and Egypt.

This buffer zone is the site of some of the worst human rights atrocities in the region. According to Human Rights Watch, some 16,000 Palestinians have been expelled from the region, and 1600 homes have been demolished.

The Disengagement Plan is only one part of what is basically a two-pronged plan. The plan itself reads, "In any future final status arrangement, there will be no Israeli settlement activ-

Continued on next page....



ity in the Gaza Strip. On the other hand, it is clear that there will be areas in Judea and Samaria that will be part of the State of Israel, and there will be civilian communities, security zones and other places in which Israel has further interest inside those areas." The bottom line is that Israel sees evacuating the settlements from the Gaza Strip as the only path towards fully incorporating the West Bank into the fabric of Israel. In a memo released by the PLO Negotiation Affairs Department on 10/7/04, "the Gaza withdrawal plan has less to do with what Israel is giving up in Gaza and more to do with what Israel plans on taking from the West Bank."

Over the past few years, Israel has been stepping up the construction of settlements and military bases in the West Bank. There now exists what Israeli anthropologist and activist Jeff Halper has dubbed "The matrix of control" – a sophisticated network of military and civilian infrastructure that ensures that no viable Palestine state can exist. Halper includes in this "matrix" the military rule imposed on the Palestinians, the expropriation of land for the building of settlements, the restriction of freedom of movement, and a whole host of other mechanisms that make life in Palestine unlivable for Palestinians.

Linguistically, Sharon's "disengagement plan" is almost as manipulative as the "separation barrier" or "security fence," being built around and inside the West Bank. The wall has been built on thousands of acres of Palestinian land, separated villages, stealing natural resources, and most importantly, weaving around many key settlements and essentially annexing them.

The disengagement plan is one more step in strengthening the apartheid regime that divides Israelis and Palestinians. This does not mean the course of things is irreversible. As long as Sharon remains in power, the conflict will continue as it always has.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

The Electronic Intifada (alternative news)
www.electronicintifada.net
 BTselem *(Israeli Human Rights Org)
www.betselem.org
 PENGON (Coalition of Palestinian NGOs)
www.sustaincampaign.org
 International Middle East Media Center
 (alternative news) www.imemc.org
 2005 Philadelphia Palestine
 Film Festival (get involved)
www.philadelphiapalestinefilmfestival.org

Cultural Resistance

continued

with the Church - no dummy, he knew that the ideology of religion, along with a strong military and police force, was necessary for the maintenance of control. Primo Levi, another Italian communist who was put in a concentration camp during the Second World War, wrote also how "the pressure that a modern totalitarian state can exercise over the individual is frightful. Its weapons are ... direct propaganda or propaganda camouflaged as upbringing, instruction and popular culture, the barrier erected against pluralism of information [the monopolizing of mainstream media and terror." Sound familiar?

Capitalism, an essentially immoral and unethical economic system (it seeks only the expansion of markets and profits) that is by its nature always in conflict with and in opposition to directly democratic values (which require constant dialogue, prefiguring and refiguring, together) with their suggestions of justice and equality for all, is a system of dominance that ignores and rejects every freedom but the market. Capitalism cares not a jot for political freedom. So key questions to ask ourselves and seriously discuss with others now in order to expand and create meaningful cultural resistance might be: How and why did we buy into such a system (history)? What do we get, that keeps us engaged in it instead of actively resisting (privilege)? What are the possibilities for resistance in a culture/system that commodifies life itself (the present)? And what, if anything, in a capitalist system do we have to look forward to besides ongoing war, oppression, and further loss of control of our own lives (the elimination of freedom - the future)? And if, after thinking it through, capitalism and state power are emphatically not what we want, because they're simply not worth it, what then do we want and how do we get there?

I participated in the "Life After Capitalism" conference in NYC in August (planned intentionally to take place just before the Republican National Convention to open space for theorizing before taking to the streets - praxis) and though I heard some of the usual "it's too academic" critiques, it seemed to me a hopeful recognition that we need to think, listen, talk and strategize more, to create our own politics instead of always reacting to or being controlled and affected by them. The conference, which took close to a year for a group of mostly NYC activists to organize was convened to encourage the "reframing [of] the political dialogue around the RNC convention, beyond the 'anyone but Bush' mantra..." and emphasized how "it is important for us as activists to constantly sharpen our institutional critiques and continue to articulate our visions for a world without exploitation or oppression as we prefigure the future in our present."

There has been a lot of activity against Global Capitalism, Neo-Liberalism and U.S. power in the U.S. and elsewhere since the WTO protests in Seattle (which were called for by those outside the U.S. - People's Global Action). Millions marched against the War on Iraq. WTO/IMF/G8 meetings have all met with massive street resistance. Such resistance is undoubtedly important, but anti-systemic movements have come up against walls and critiques, both internal and external and at the conference I experienced a healthy sense of humility and thoughtfulness about where we have been and where we are or need to go. For those active in the movement a big question has been: "If all we do is summit-hop and protest power, how are we actively creating alternatives to it?" We have gotten really good at feeding and housing each other and setting up indymedia centers and training ourselves to be medical and legal observers at big demos, but how to take such practices outside the movement and into our daily lives obviously requires more thought. Too often people go back to their sub-cultural pockets of existence or travel from scene to scene, instead of stepping outside that safety zone so that in the end such insularity turns in on itself - we need to transform existence, not just transgress or react to it.

An oft-heard external critique is "We know what you're against, but what are you for?" In some ways the answer's easy. As long-time San Francisco activist/organizer David Solnit comments in the intro to *Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World*: "All we have to do is change everything," but he also posits that "Unless positive new ideas and methods are more clearly articulated and widely explored, people and movements striving for a better world will remain trapped in the failed models of the past."

In the conflicted anti-war movement in the U.S., for example, there wasn't nearly enough discussion or critique of the relationship between war and the globalization of capital, and thus the push, after the war went ahead as planned, for electoral politics without enough

questioning of the failures of the Republicans and the Democrats to address human needs at home and abroad, or the crisis of our absolute lack of truly democratic possibilities. Bigger anti-war groups like ANSWER and United for Peace and Justice were at times opportunistic and muddled in their messages in attempts to get big turnouts and a spread of dissatisfied people on board. Too much walking/marching without asking questions.

Many of these issues were addressed at the conference, where plenaries, workshops and break-out sessions focused on defining Capitalism - its history, myths and problems - Looking closely at what's happening with Capitalism/Neo-Liberalism in the present, defining power, both positive and negative/state and people, building alternative powers, examining new strains of nationalism and militarism, looking at electoral politics and at longstanding and new social movements. The term "New Radicalism" was thrown around a lot in looking at new, less authoritarian strains of left and radical activism, representatives from indigenous movements emphasized the importance of their struggles in maintaining a healthy planet, Argentinean horizontalism - deciding together as equals - was explained and discussed and the amazing and vital work being done by women and people of color was well-represented.

For me, and others too, I think, the conference served as a kind of call out, to go beyond reacting, and opposing and countering (all of which are important) to actually creating the political, through interrogating and challenging ourselves, through critical reading and listening and asking and learning in and from the greater world. "Many people around the world are waiting for the people of the United States to join them in serious rebellion against the empire," writes Solnit. We need to get ready. During one of the plenaries she participated in, Canadian activist and author of the anti-corporate *No Logo*, Naomi Klein, who had recently spent time in Iraq and witnessed the devastation, said that we can not be satisfied with where we're at 5 years after Seattle, especially with what's happening in Iraq; we need to ask ourselves tough questions and think about and focus on strategies that work. As the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, immigrant laborers in the fields of South Florida, who through popular education and direct action have won dignity and tangible improvements say: Conciencia + Compromiso = Cambio (Consciousness + Commitment = Change). Only through the rigorous pursuit of such possibilities will we take power back into our own hands and create the world we want.



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Wednesday, December 1

Alan Elsner speaking on The Crisis In America's Prisons at the Magnolia Grill, Chester County Book and Music Company 975 Paoli Pike in West Chester, PA. Sponsored by Amnesty International info: Susan Brodesser, 610-399-0823 or sbrodesser@amnestywestchester.org

Thursday, December 2

Demonstration (if the execution has not been stayed) Against the Execution of George Banks. 5-7 p.m. 200 South Broad Street (near Broad and Walnut). Organized by Pennsylvania Abolitionists United Against the Death Penalty. For more info call 215-724-6120

Friday, December 3rd

Film: Searching for Angela Shelton What filmmaker Angela Shelton wasn't prepared for was learning that, like herself, 24 out of 40 Angela Sheltons she spoke to while making this film had been raped, beaten or molested. The filmmaker's survey of women becomes a journey of self discovery during which she decides to confront her past and her father – on Father's Day. 6:30pm at the A-Space

Saturday, December 4

In Plane Site, Video exposé of 9/11. 7:30

@ A-Space, 4722 Baltimore Ave.

Saturday, December 4

(Raindate - Saturday, December 11) Outdoor Anti-War Slide Show Against the War/Occupation in Iraq. 5 p.m. at the Rotunda, 40th & Walnut St. More info/Interested in Tabling or Flyering - e-mail endsanctions@verizon.net

Sunday, December 5

Dan Berger shows political prisoner videos featuring David Gilbert and Jalil Bottom. Followed by discussion. 7:30 @ A-Space

Monday, December 6

Annual Benefit for Women Against Abuse. AFL/CIO UNITE building, 22 South 22nd St. 5 p.m. Organized by CLUW.

Wednesday, December 8

Philly-RAGE (Resistance Against Genetic Engineering) meets to plan for Biodev 2005 in Philly. 7:30 @ A-Space.

Thursday, December 9 (and every Thursday till the Inauguration)

Philly Direct Action Planning meetings for the Counter-Inaugural protests in D.C. on January 20th. 7:30 @ A-Space

Friday, December 10

Cats and Crafts Southwest Strays Fundraiser. Make crafts and adopt kittens 5 p.m. @ A-Space

Sunday December 12**Defenestrator Benefit Brunch**

11:00 PM @ The Farm, 4833 Walton Ave (1/2 block N of Baltimore)

PALS-- Philadelphia Alliance for Labor (birth) Support s. anyone interested in birth-- and, specifically, in doula care-- is welcome! 1-3pm @ A-Space

Presentation on Palestine by Liberty Cabbage, 7:30 p.m. @ A-Space

Thursday, December 16

Slide Show and discussion on the Occupation of Iraq. 7 p.m. at the Rotunda, 40th and Walnut. Sponsored by Philadelphia Anti-War Forum

Friday, December 17

Poems not Prisons - Open Mike Poetry. 7:30 p.m. @ A-Space

Wednesday, December 22

Christmas Candlelight Vigil for Peace, Lockheed Martin, Valley Forge, Pa. More info go to

Brandywinepeacecommunity.org

Friday December 31

Critical Mass Bike Ride 5pm West Side of City Hall

January 20

Washington D.C. Counter-Inaugural Protests and Direct Action against the recrowning of King George. Come to Philly planning meetings - see above - to get involved with organizing Direct Action.

February 3-6, 2005

National Conference on Organized Resistance. Washington, D.C. For more info go to www.organizedresistance.org

June 2005

Protest the Biodev Conference in Philly. To get involved come to the Philly-RAGE meeting on Dec. 8 @ A-Space. See A-Space calendar for future meetings.

Food not Bombs

In a country hungry for war, that bombs countries hungry for food. Every Wednesday at 5:30 Cooked foods & food distro @ Cedar Park, 4900 block of Baltimore Ave. in West Philly. Every Sunday at 5 p.m. & Monday @ 7 p.m. cooked food across from Philadelphia Public Library Central Branch, near Logan Circle.

Critical Mass

Last Friday of every month, 5:00 pm. Gather at east side of City Hall to demand a safe share of city streets for bicycles.

Vigil to Support Israeli Voices of Peace

Every Friday from 12:00 pm - 1:00 pm Israeli Consulate; 15th & Locust Streets Sponsored by Jewish Mobilization for a Just Peace. Email: jmjp_philly@yahoo.com for more info.

Honk for Mumia - small demonstrations to distribute information and show support 2nd and 4th Saturday of every month 2pm at 52nd

and Market

SE Chapter PA Abolitionists Monthly Vigil

First Thursday of every month from 12:00 pm - 1:00 pm Outside Governor Rendell's Office 200S. Broad St. Calling for an end to executions in PA. info: waxie55@hotmail.com for more info.

Women's Anti-Violence Education (WAVE)

Monday drop-in classes every Monday night from 6:00 pm - 8:00 pm Friend.s Center; 1501 Cherry Street Phone: 215-241- 5720 for more information WAVE offers a drop-in, self-defense, class every Monday night. There is a sliding scale fee of \$5-\$20 (pay what you can). Women of any age, size, or physical ability will benefit. Can't make it Monday? call about our full length self-defense courses offered regularly.

Saturday Afternoon Self-Defense for Women class taught by women 1-4pm at the Friends Center, 1501 Cherry St., \$60 full fee but pay what you can, no one turned

4134 Lancaster Ave - A conspiracy from the fanatics at the defenestrator, the Philly Independent Media Centre, Radio Volta, the derailleur collective, the Unconvention and others comes this new project: a radical community centre in the pancreas of West Philly. We bought a building, now we need your involvement! info: 215.387.6155 or space@phillyimc.org * defenestrator.org/space

A-Space - a collectively run anarchist gallery and meeting/community space. Events are free and generally start at 7:30pm unless otherwise noted. Accessible by the 34 trolley. Plenty of parking for cars and bikes. They pass the hat to cover rent.

4722 Baltimore Avenue Philadelphia, PA 19143
215.727.0882 a-space@defenestrator.org

WOODEN SHOE BOOKS and RECORDS - Anarchist book-store owned and run by an unpaid collective of geniuses with

nothing better to do than sit around talking philosophy and riots. Carries a wide range of anarchist and radical books, periodicals, pamphlets, T-shirts, patches, CD's records etc. 508 S. Fifth Street Philadelphia, PA 215.413.0999 woodenshoe@rocketmail.com

Firehouse Bikes - A worker owned collective bike shop. 50th and Baltimore

The Divine Bicycle Church - Bike repair co-op at Neighborhood Bike Works. Tools, advice and recycled parts available. Every Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday from 6:30-9pm 40th and Locust Walk, behind St. Mary's Church

Crossroads Women's Center - open Tuesdays and Thursdays 10am-2pm or by appointment 33 Maplewood Mall, Germantown 215-848-1120

Philadelphia Social Forum

First Sunday of each month at 3PM Robin.s Book Store, 108 S. 13th Street

Philadelphia Gender Changers Academy

Female to Female Trans Technology Womens' computer classes on Wednesdays 6:30pm-9pm (\$10-\$25 cost for materials) info@phillygca.org

Philadelphiaans United to Support Public Schools

Every Monday from 5:15 pm - 7:45 pm United Way 1st floor; 21st & Ben Franklin Pkwy. E-mail: jordanpcy@hotmail.com for more info

Dissent in America Teach-Ins at Temple

For current calendar of events visit <http://www.temple.edu/history/Teach%20>

ACT UP

Weekly Meeting Every Monday from 6:00 pm - 9:00 pm St. Lukes Church; 330 S. 13th St. (between Pine & Spruce) Email: actupphilly@critpath.org for more info.

the defenestrator

PO Box 30922
Philadelphia, PA 19104

to:

